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Sin and Salvation in the Hours of Jean de Dunois

Richard Gameson

The Dunois Hours (London, British Library, Yates Thompson 3), a compact but very richly-decorated book, is paradoxically well known yet imperfectly understood.[1] Its principal illuminator, now styled the Dunois Master after this very volume, has slowly but surely emerged as a distinct personality who plied his trade within a complicated web of collaborations with other Parisian artists and scribes. Yet these invaluable gains in understanding the artist and his working contexts, and identifying the considerable output of his atelier have tended to distract from the significance of his individual creations in their own right, not least his eponymous manuscript. The present article is a modest step towards redressing the balance. After

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[1] 135 x 95 mm (text-block, 70 x 44 mm); *c.* 50 mm thick at its widest point when clasped shut. If its margins originally approximated to the 'classic' ratio, then the current 20 mm (inner), 20 (upper), 30 (outer) and 48 (lower) would have been *c.* 20, 30, 40 and 50 respectively, adding 12 mm to the overall height and 10 mm to the width, suggesting initial dimensions of 147 x 105 mm. It would still be 'pocket sized' and smaller than various other horae from the same workshop, even in their current trimmed state: e.g., Liverpool, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 12001 (216 x 155, text-block, 95 x 58 mm); BL, Add. 18751 (195 x 142, text-block, 88 x 65 mm); BL, Add. 35312 (220 x 158; text-block, 100 x 72 mm); and Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 164 (220 x 160; text-block, 105 x 65 mm). The Use is Rome, the calendar Parisian. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1898), no. 11, pp. 49-57; all the major decorated pages are reproduced, with commentary, in A. Châtelet, 'Les Heures de Dunois', *Art de l'enluminure* 25 (2008), 12-73; a full digital reproduction is available on the website of the British Library.

summarising what is known about the artist, and reviewing some salient facts about the patron, we shall consider notable features within the Dunois Hours itself, focusing less on their antecedents and parallels (the aspects which have been treated most fully by previous commentators) than on their resonance in the context of this particular book. We shall then be in a position to appreciate the significance of the manuscript in relation to its original owner.

Scholarly investigation over the last half century has brought gradual clarification to our understanding of the character and career of the Dunois Master.[2] Associated with the workshop

[2] E. P. Spencer, 'Gerson, Ciboule and the late Bedford Master's Shop', *Scriptorium* 19 (1965), 104-8; D. Byrne, 'The Hours of the Admiral Prigent de Coëtivy', *Scriptorium* 28 (1974), 248-61; P. R. Monks, 'Two Parisian Artists of the Dunois Hours and a Flemish Motif', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 112 (1988), 61-8; P. R. Monks, *The Brussels Horloge de Sapience. Iconography and Text of Brussels, BR MS IV 111* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 27-8; J. H. Marrow, *The Hours of Simon de Varie* (London, 1994); F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520* (Paris, 1993), pp. 22-4, 35-7; N. Reynaud, 'Les Heures du chancelier Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins et la peinture parisienne autour de 1440', *Revue de l'art* 126 (1999), 23-35; R. Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and their Makers* (London, 2003), no. 11, pp. 96-7; D. Thiébaut, Ph. Lorentz and F.-R. Martin, *Primitifs français. Découvertes et redécouvertes* (Paris, 2004), pp. 89-92; J. J. G. Alexander, J. H. Marrow and L. F. Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word. Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (London, 2005), no. 52; C. Reynolds, 'The Workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford: definitions and identities', *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: books and book production in Paris around 1400*, ed. G. Croenen and P. Ainsworth (Leuven, 2006), 437-72; Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois'; G. T. Clark, *Art in a Time of War. The Master of Morgan 453 and Manuscript Illumination in Paris during the English Occupation (1419-1435)* (Toronto, 2016), pp. 257-78; Christie's *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Collection of Maurice Burrus* (London, 25 May 2016), lots 9 and 18; Christie's, *Valuable Books and Manuscripts* (London, 13 July 2016), lot. 113 ('Hachette Hours').

of the Bedford Master in the 1430s, the Dunois Master then emerged in his own right to be a leading figure in Parisian illumination during the next generation, the last dated work in his style being accomplished in the 1460s.[3] Certain coincidences in career pattern, patronage and oeuvre raise the possibility that he may have been identical with the documented illuminator, Jean Haincelin; however, in the absence of signatures or colophons, this is not susceptible of proof.[4] The range of those with whom he collaborated during his long working life reflects the fluidity of book-producing partnerships in later medieval Paris,[5] which in turn makes it impossible to be

[3] The earliest chronological marker is provided by his contribution to the Salisbury Breviary (Paris, BnF, lat. 17294: Ch. Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris 1300-1500*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987-90), I, no. 60; F. Avril, *La Passion des manuscrits enluminés. Bibliophiles français 1280-1580* (Paris, 1991), no. 13), the first campaign on which (outlined by Reynolds, 'Workshop', p. 445 n. 17) presumably stopped in or shortly after 1435 with the death of the patron, John, duke of Bedford. Clark, *Art in a Time of War*, p. 271, regards a Leonardo Bruni, *Première guerre punique* of 1457x61 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5086) and an Honoré Bouvet, *Arbre des batailles* of 1460 (Paris, BnF, fr. 1276) as his last datable works, whereas Avril and Reynaud, *Manuscrits à peintures*, p. 37, cite the *Livre des cas des nobles malheureux* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, 401) that was written in 1466 for Jacques d'Armagnac.

[4] Apparently first mooted by P. Durrieu (in A. Michel (ed.), *Histoire de l'Art* vol. 3 (Paris, 1907), p. 165; vol. 4 (Paris, 1911), pp. 707-8), the theory was cautiously restated by Avril and Reynaud, *Manuscrits à Peintures*, p. 38, then elaborated by Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', pp. 18-19. Cf. Reynolds, 'Workshop', pp. 442-3.

[5] For an overview of the collaborations see Clark, *Art in a Time of War*, pp. 257-78. For the broader context of Parisian book production, see R. H. and M. A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000).

specific about the particular circumstances in which he plied his trade – beyond the fact that these will have been continuously evolving.[6] Indeed, given the range of work in the relevant style and its intersections with other idioms, it may be better to think in terms of an atelier than a single artist; however, for ease of reference, the designation 'Dunois Master' will be retained here. The projects in which the Dunois Master (or atelier) was involved included secular Romances and service books, but are dominated by Books of Hours (some thirty in number, divided fairly evenly between examples whose miniatures are all or almost all in the signature style, and others where the Dunois manner appears alongside those of other artists/ateliers). At the centre of the corpus is a subgroup of horae that are distinguished by their high quality, 'pocket' format, and the use of Bâtarde script, not to mention the elevated status of their patrons. In these and other horae the Dunois Master exploited to the full his familiarity with designs that had been current in the Bedford atelier, while enriching the repertoire with motifs drawn from high-status works by other hands – which, in relation to the Dunois Hours in particular, were nothing less than the Boucicaut Hours, the Très Riches Heures of Jean de Berry, and the Rolin Madonna by Jan van Eyck.[7] The citations from this last work imply that the

[6] See in general Reynolds, 'Workshop'; also the complementary perspectives of J. Lowden, 'Beauty or Truth? Making a *Bible Moralisée* in Paris around 1400', *Patrons, Authors and Workshops*, 197-222.

[7] Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2; Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65; Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1271, MR 705. On these borrowings see Monks, 'Flemish Motif'; Reynolds, 'Workshop'; and Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois'. Examples of borrowings from the background of the Rolin Madonna for images of King David and the Flight into Egypt in other horae from the orbit of the Bedford and Dunois ateliers are provided by, e.g., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 81 (P. Binski and S. Panayotova (ed.), *The Cambridge Illuminations. Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2005), no. 90); London, BL, Add. 35312, fol. 56r; Los

Dunois Hours was produced after *c.* 1436x1441, the most authoritative date-range for that panel;[8] and given the place of the manuscript within the trajectory of the Dunois Master's oeuvre – in particular its proximity to, even possible anticipation of his Coëtivy Hours, securely datable to 1444x1450 and perhaps ascribable more specifically to 1444[9] – it seems highly likely to have been accomplished in the 1440s.[10]

Angeles, Getty Museum, Ludwig IX.6; 83.ML.102 (A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 4 vols. (Cologne, 1979-85), II, pp. 103-114, the page in question reproduced on p. 105); and Oxford, Keble College, 39 (M. B. Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College Oxford* (London, 1979), p. 175; Clark, *Art in a Time of War*, ill. 12). Freer but still recognisable interpretations appear in many miniatures in the Coëtivy Hours (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, W82; e.g. 13r, 34v, 68r, 73r, 172r, 303r) and form the backdrop to John on Patmos in BL, Harley 2971, fol. 13r, by another hand from the same extended circle.

[8] Based on the dendrochronological evidence: M. Comblen-Sonkes and Ph. Lorentz, *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux et de la Principauté de Liège au Quinzième Siècle 17: Musée du Louvre, Paris II*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1995), II, no. 175, pp. 11-80, esp. pp. 57-8 and 78-9.

[9] The heraldry shows that it was produced between Prigent de Coëtivy's marriage to Marie de Laval in 1444 (negotiated from 1443) and his death in 1450; pointing to 1444 in particular is the fact that in that year Prigent made payment for a box and a leather pouch for horae: Byrne, 'Coëtivy', pp. 249-51.

[10] Reynaud, 'Jouvenel', p. 34, n. 12, argues from finer points of the Dunois style (which, always less crisp than the signature Bedford manner, evolved over time towards a still freer, more impressionistic treatment of detail) that the Dunois Hours predates Coëtivy. This ordering has been supported by the perceived evolution of the border decoration of the MSS (Reynolds, 'Workshop', p. 466). By contrast, the case for dating the MS specifically to 1441 on account of

The standing of the Dunois Master is demonstrated by the circumstance that, apparently inheriting the elevated patronage that had previously been directed to the Bedford atelier, he became the illuminator of choice for high-ranking supporters and officials of the resurgent French monarchy from the aftermath of their reclaiming Paris from the English (1436) through to the 1450s. (The fact that it was to Jean Fouquet that this position was then ceded should surely be viewed as confirmation of the discernment of the court circle in question.[11]) The notables who commissioned work from the Dunois Master included Prigent de Coëtivy (d. 1450), admiral of France, Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins, chanceller from 1445, Guillaume Gouffier (d. 1495), royal chamberlain and counsellor, Etienne Chevalier, treasurer from 1452, and, of course, Jean bâtard d'Orléans, comte de Dunois, to whom we now turn.[12]

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the castle depicted in the miniature of St George (as suggested by Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', pp. 15 and 67) is not compelling, since the correspondence between the image and what is known of the appearance of Châteaudun at the time is insufficiently close (indeed the fortified town in the background of fol. 48v in the Coëtivy Hours is as close to the *s.* xviii drawing of Châteaudun that Châtelet reproduces); and, even if it *were* closer, this would in no wise prove that the book was done in the very year that Charles d'Orléans formalised the gift of the County of Dunois to his half-brother.

[11] This transfer of patronage is evaluated by E. Inglis, *Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 210-11.

[12] Respectively: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, W.MS 82; Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 3226; Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, IV.111 (*Horloge de Sapience*); Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Library, Richardson 31 (*Decameron*); London, BL, Yates Thompson 3. In addition, fragments of another fine horae made for a (now) unidentifiable member of the Jouvenel family survive as London,

Jean de Dunois (1402-68), the illegitimate son of Louis d'Orléans (brother of King Charles VI) was brought up in his father's household and (owing to the captivity in England of two of his legitimate half-brothers, and the early death of the third) became *de facto* head of the house of Orléans.[13] He rose to national prominence through his distinguished military service against the English: he played a key role in breaking the siege of Montargis in 1427 (for which he was rewarded handsomely by the King);[14] two years later he led the garrison defending the besieged city of Orléans until it was relieved by Jeanne d'Arc;[15] and his subsequent campaigns in the Ile-de-France (including the recapture of Chartres in 1432) did much to prepare the way for the French retaking of Paris. Indeed, his military importance was broadcast ceremonially at Charles VII's official entry into the capital in 1437: riding a horse caparisoned in cloth of gold and carrying a staff symbolising martial authority, Dunois followed the immediate entourage of the King and Dauphin, followed in his turn by a royal stableman bearing the banner of the warrior archangel, Michael.[16] Although in 1439 he temporarily joined the Bourbon conspiracy (the 'Praguerie'),[17] he rapidly realigned himself with the king whom he had otherwise served with

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Victoria and Albert Museum, E4582-1910 and E4583-1910 + Paris, Musée Marmottan Monet, Wildenstein 149 + other leaves in private collections.

[13] M. Rolland, *Dunois, compagnon de Jeanne d'Arc* (Châteaudun, 1968).

[14] G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1881-91), II, p. 147.

[15] Thomas Basin, *Histoire de Charles VII*, Bk II, chs. 11-12, ed. Ch. Samaran, 2 vols. (Paris, 1933-44), I, 134-42.

[16] Sources conveniently printed in B. Guenée and F. Lehoux, *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris, 1968), pp. 72-9.

[17] See further note 32 below.

such distinction. Throughout the 1440s Jean de Dunois combined roles at court, in government and as a royal envoy with continuing campaigns against the English, notably the liberation of Dieppe in 1443;[18] and from 1449-1451 as the king's lieutenant-general he was central to the military and diplomatic moves that led to the recapture of Normandy and Guyenne, the effective end of the occupation.[19] His subsequent years, no less active, need not detain us since they almost certainly fall after the period during which his book of hours, our particular concern, was commissioned.[20]

One piece of evidence from the end of his life is, however, worth passing in review since it reveals a different side of the man that is of relevance here: namely an inventory of the books kept in a tower of his castle at Châteaudun that was drawn up in 1468.[21] The fifty or so books in question may seem a modest number in comparison with the libraries of his great-uncles, Jean de Berry and Charles V, and even with that of his half-brother, Charles d'Orléans; however, the first

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[18] Basin, *Histoire*, Bk III, ch. 18, ed. Samaran, I, pp. 284-8.

[19] Basin, *Histoire*, Bk IV, ch. 9; Bk V, ch. 1, ed. Samaran, II, pp. 56-60 and 158-166. A contemporary encomiast, Robert Blondel, lauded his military achievements as on a par with those of Pompey and Caesar: *De reductione Normannie*, ch. 13; printed: *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy MCCCCXLIX-MCCCCL*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series (London, 1863), p. 45.

[20] He is immortalised in later life in Jean Fouquet's miniature of the trial of Jean, duc d'Alençon (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. gall. 6, fol. 2v: Inglis, *Fouquet*, fig. 118) where he appears immediately in front of Charles VII.

[21] Printed: L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1868-81), III, pp. 194-5, Appendix XXXIV.

two were among the richest and greatest bibliophiles of the later middle ages, while the last was a man of pronounced literary inclinations and talent.[22] By any other standards, Dunois's holding represented a respectable cache for the time (it is, for instance, on the same scale as the seventy volumes inventoried for another of his rich, powerful and cultivated great-uncles, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy).[23] Although it is impossible to know which of these volumes had been acquired by the period of interest to us (as also the number and nature of any titles kept elsewhere), the breadth of material on the list does suggest that the collection it records offers a reasonable guide to the range of their owner's literary tastes at least. The titles in question are spread across the spectrum of material typical of a Franco-Burgundian princely collection of the age, embracing theology, devotion, spiritual observance and morality as well as history, geography, political science, chivalry and romance. It is worth noting that the writings classifiable as spiritual observance and morality included a book about the vices and virtues, a collection of

[22] Inventories for the first two printed by L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librarie de Charles V*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907) in vol. II. Inventories for the third printed by G. Ouy, *La librarie des frères captifs. Les manuscrits de Charles d'Orléans et Jean d'Angoulême* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 35-54.

[23] P. de Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404)* (Paris, 1985), esp. pp. 121-42. See more generally G. Hasenohr, 'L'essor des bibliothèques privées aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles', *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques médiévales du VI^{e} siècle à 1530*, ed. A. Vernet (Paris, 1989), 215-63, esp. 248-57. Table 5 on p. 249 presents comparative figures and statistical analysis for the libraries of some 15 princes of the period, including Dunois (whose total holding of books, however, is inexplicably given as half the number on his inventory).

tracts on the senses and desires, and treatises on penitence[24] for, although such material commonly featured in princely libraries, these texts correspond to an emphasis that is observable in the Dunois Hours itself.

The association of British Library, Yates Thompson 3 with Jean de Dunois is beyond question for his arms appear as an original part of the decoration on twenty pages – including the first page of no fewer than eight of the eleven main sections within the text (namely the calendar, gospel extracts, prayers to the Virgin, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of the Passion, Penitential Psalms, and Hours of the Holy Spirit).[25] On three occasions, all towards the beginning of the volume, the arms accompany a representation of the Duke himself. He is first shown seated at table in the calendar miniature for January (ill. 1), then kneeling on a cushion, praying to the Virgin and child at the prayer *Obsecro te* (ill. 2), and finally kneeling at a prie-dieu, beseeching the apocalyptic Christ in the depiction of the Last Judgement that heads the prayer *Deus propitius esto michi* (ill. 6). In the first case, Dunois wears a scarlet hat and a luxurious robe or tunic of gold with red patterning, while his arms appear both in an escutcheon on the fire-breast/canopy above his head and, more dramatically, across a tapestry that occupies the entire

[24] Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, p. 194, entries 18 ('Une passion de Nichodemus avecques le livre des vices et des vertus ...'), 21 ('... où est traictié des cinq sens corporelz, de six désirs de créature humaine et autres pluseurs traictiez'), and 30 ('Ung autre petit livre de traictiez de pénitance').

[25] Fols. 1r, 13r, 13v, 22v, 32v, 37r, 93r, 93v, 120r, 121r, 121v, 130r, 138r, 138v, 157r, 157v, 172r, 172v, 193v, and 281v. The sections without an armorial on their first page are: Hours of the Cross, Office of the Dead, and Suffrages.

back wall of the chamber.[26] In the second and third instances he is clad in armour, over which is a surcoat emblazoned with his arms; additionally in the second case, an angel holds behind his head his helm and shield both likewise emblazoned, while in the third he is accompanied by his name-saint, John the Divine. Collectively the three images present Dunois as a grand secular lord, and as a pious knight who not only enjoys a direct relationship with Mary and the Christ-child, but is also present at the Last Judgement, praying for his own soul.

Many elements of the Dunois Hours, down to small details of the iconography, are paralleled in other horae from the same atelier – as one would expect of a popular devotional *vade-mecum* produced by a busy commercial operation that relied upon the (elegant) recycling of designs.[27] The point to stress in the present context is that such multiple deployment of visual formulae in no way reduced the efficacy of the imagery in question as the accoutrements of this particular devotional book (or indeed of any of the others): on the contrary, if anything, it lent them familiarity and hence enhanced their authenticity and resonance as depictions of their subjects. At the same time, the manuscript does have certain features that give it singularity amidst the horae in which the Dunois Master was involved – as indeed in the genre as a whole – and which accordingly merit close attention.

Two such points appear in the Suffrages.[28] First, there is the inclusion of St Leonard, patron saint of prisoners, and, more particularly, the way in which he is depicted.[29] The standing

[26] The latter a more blatant declaration of personal identity than the tapestry (apparently featuring scenes from the Trojan War) that occupies the corresponding place in the January miniature of the Très Riches Heures (fol. 1v), the archetype of the scene.

[27] See note 7.

[28] The most striking anomaly in this section of the book is the placement of St Francis of Assisi at the start (288r-289r) of the short final quire (XXXVIII, fols. 288-91) – thus separated from the

Leonard holds the chain to which are manacled two prisoners who, clad only in their underclothes, kneel in supplication. To this motif (which echoes the corresponding miniature in the Boucicaut Hours[30]) the Dunois Master added a second pair of captives who look on from behind the bars to the right-hand side, and a third pair, who gaze up in supplication from the lower border.[31] The resulting image with its sets of prisoners shown in pairs would surely have

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rest of the male saints (259r-279v) by a quire devoted to female ones (XXXVII, fols. 280-7). The facts that he shares his quire with Barbara (289v-291r), who will not have preceded Mary Magdalene (the first of the women in Q. XXXVII), and that fol. 291v is blank show that this final quire is not misplaced. For the attractive but unprovable suggestion that his inclusion here was linked to the birth of Dunois's son Francis in January 1447, implying that work on the volume was then well advanced, hence the unorthodox placement of an extra suffrage for his name saint, see Byrne, 'Coëtivy', p. 261. Francis was included as an original entry in the litany (179r).

[29] Fol. 269v: Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', p. 64 – recognising the likely real-world allusion.

[30] Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, 2, fol. 9v: conveniently reproduced in juxtaposition with the relevant image in the Dunois Hours in *ibid.*, p. 64.

[31] A very similar illustration appears in the Coëtivy Hours (fol. 290r): here St Leonard stands with his open book at the centre of the miniature, holding the chains of two captives clad only in underwear, who kneel to either side of him; two further kneeling prisoners appear to either side of the lower border. The main difference is that this version does not include the depiction of two further captives within a prison that occupies the right-hand side of the Dunois version. The rendering in Coëtivy is more obviously and directly dependent on the iconography of the Boucicaut Hours, suggesting that the departures from the prototype in Dunois – above all the two figures confined within a prison – were specific to that commission.

been understood as an allusion to the long incarceration in England of Dunois's two half-brothers, Charles d'Orléans and Jean d'Angloulême, for whose release he laboured long, it finally being achieved for the former in 1440 and for the latter in 1445.[32]

A second notable feature in the Suffrages is the fact that the depicted St George sports around his helmet a thick roll of fabric vividly striped in red, white and green.[33] This is the livery of Charles VII, as described by the king's herald, Gilles le Bouvier[34] and as shown being worn by

[32] Dunois had himself experienced captivity as a prisoner of the Burgundians from 1418-20. On the theory that it was King Charles VII's possible opposition to the release of Charles d'Orléans that precipitated Dunois's initial participation in the Bourbon conspiracy see Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, III, pp. 116-17, and M. Vale, *Charles VII* (London, 1974), pp. 77 and 85. By contrast, Ph. Contamine, 'Le chef de guerre, l'homme de pouvoir, le prince: le bâtard d'Orléans', *Art de l'enluminure* 25 (2008), 2-11 at 8, sees frustration at Charles' apathy in relation to fighting the English as the principal motive.

[33] Fol. 274v. Reproduced: Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', p. 67 (with enlargement on p. 2). The helmet of St George in the broadly similar depiction in the Coëtivy Hours (fol. 277r) is unadorned.

[34] *Le Recouvrement de Normendie par Berry, herault du roy*, §75, in *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy*, ed. Stevenson, p. 315.

all the royal guard, not to mention the king himself, in the Hours of Etienne Chevalier.[35] The great warrior saint was thus explicitly made a member of the retinue of the king of France. Not only was this a powerful declaration of martial support from heaven, it also had the additional resonance of counteracting the special relationship that the English claimed to have with St George and which had been pointedly celebrated in connection with their victory at Azincourt and their pretensions in relation to France as a whole.[36]

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[35] The soldiers have plumes and tunics in red, white and green stripes; the king has a white hat, a green tunic and red hose. Chantilly, Musée Condé, Santuario 8: P. Stirnemann *et al.*, *Les Heures d'Étienne Chevalier par Jean Fouquet. Les quarante enluminures du Musée Condé* (Paris, 2003), p. 11; enlargment: Inglis, *Jean Fouquet*, pp. xii and 132 (fig. 128); see further M. Vale, 'The Livery Colours of Charles VII in two works by Fouquet', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 74 (1969), 243-8.

[36] George was patron saint of the Order of the Garter. His feast was elevated to one of primary importance on 4 January 1416, in the aftermath of Azincourt, and his supposed support of the English in that battle and against the French in general was celebrated in song: see *Medieval English Lyrics, a critical anthology*, ed. R. T. Davis (London, 1963), no. 92. The Duke of Bedford was said to have invoked George at his great victory at Verneuil in 1424; and when, as English regent in France, he was depicted in the Bedford Hours, he was portrayed kneeling in prayer, not before his name-saint, but rather before St George (apparently dressed in the royal robe of the order of the garter) as spiritual and chivalric representative of England/the English crown: BL, Add. MS 18850, fol. 256v. See further in general J. Bengtson, 'St George and the Formation of English Nationalism', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997), 317-40, and J. Stratford, 'St George and St Denis', *The Battle of Agincourt*, ed. A. Curry and M. Mercer (New Haven and London, 2015), 50-62.

A further royal reference appears in the miniature for Matins within the Office of the Dead, which features a formulaic funeral service set within a church or chapel, for the cloth draped over the catafalque is blue emblazoned with the gold fleurs-de-lys of France (not the arms of the house of Orléans).[37] The user of this book was thus made an attendant at a state funeral and was encouraged to pray for the souls of departed French royalty, aiding their passage to heaven. Creating a relationship with, and soliciting assistance for, the monarchy in death as well as life, this image was the symbol of an allegiance to the French crown that extended beyond the grave. The circumstance that the usage can be paralleled in other horae[38] in no way undermines its resonance.

If the details we have hitherto considered reflect family concerns and evoke political loyalties, a more striking idiosyncrasy in the Penitential Psalms seems to bear upon personal morality. Whereas the Penitential Psalms are normally introduced as a group by a single miniature, in the Dunois Hours each of the seven is headed by an image, an altogether rarer practice.[39] The first of the set shows the penitent David kneeling in prayer below God (ill. 3), a

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[37] Fol. 211r. As is also the case in, e.g., the Bedford Hours (fol. 120r: König, *Bedford Hours*, p. 102) and its sister manuscripts in Lisbon (Museu Gulbenkian, LA 237, fol. 216v: M. Meiss, *The de Lévis Hours and the Bedford Workshop* (New Haven, 1972), ill. 43) and Vienna (ÖNB 1855, fol. 103v: E. Trenkler, *Livre d'Heures: Handschrift 1855 der Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna, 1948), pl. 15), but not in the Boucicaut (fol. 142v) or Coëtivy Hours (fol. 96r).

[38] See previous note. The same basic composition reappears in, e.g., BL, Add. 35312, fol. 110r; Rylands, Latin 164, fol. 163v.

[39] Fols. 157r, 159r, 162r, 165v, 168v, 172v and 174r: Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', pp. 54-7. More typical is, e.g., the Dunois Master's contribution for the Penitential Psalms in BL, Add. MS 18751 (fol. 109r), headed by a single miniature showing David kneeling in prayer before God (an

common subject for the context; the other six, however, feature personifications of the seven cardinal sins (anger and envy appearing together at Psalm 31, the second in the series).[40] Each sin – Pride, Envy, Sloth, Anger, Gluttony, Lust and Avarice – is represented by a human type astride an animal, the ramifications of the failing being articulated by the characteristics of man and beast in tandem, any possible ambiguity removed by the inclusion of a titulus in French.[41] Additionally, in the case of Lust ('Luxure', for Psalm 129, *De profundis clamavi* ...), the message of

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interior scene, with his crown on the floor and his harp and four books on a table beside him) plus, in the lower border, a vignette of the king looking at Bathsheba in her bathtub.

[40] In the Bedford Hours (96r: J. Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours* (London, 1990), ill. 22), as in its sister manuscripts in Lisbon (Museu Gulbenkian LA 237, fol. 94v: E. Taburet-Delahaye (ed.), *Paris 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris, 2004), no. 220) and Vienna (ÖNB, 1855, fol. 153v: R. Beer, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Vienne* (Paris, 1912), p. 17, pl. VIII; H. J. Hermann, *Die Westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance 3. Französische und Iberische Handschriften der ersten Hälfte des XV Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1938), no. 19, pp. 142-185 with pl. LII.1; Trenkler, *Livre d'Heures*, pl. 21), representations of Virtues and Vices are juxtaposed in the borders around the main miniature for the Penitential Psalms. The main miniature shows (with variations): in the foreground, Uriah and Bathsheba together; in the middle ground, the order that leads to Uriah's death; and in the background, David in penitence. A similar approach was followed in New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M 453, fol. 98v: Clark, *Art in a Time of War*, pp. 122-6, ill. 124.

[41] 'Orgeuil' etc. On the correspondences drawn between the seven sins and animals more generally see M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (Michigan, 1952), with convenient tabulation on pp. 245-9 (Appendix I).

the elegantly-dressed woman gazing at herself in a mirror and clutching two arrows while seated on a goat (emblem of lasciviousness) is amplified by a vignette in the background (ill. 4). For here is King David gazing at Bathsheba in her bathtub – and the circumstance that the scene is glimpsed through apertures in the rear wall casts the viewer in the role of a voyeur akin to David himself. The physical juxtaposition of Bathsheba with Luxuria's head and mirror (evoking beauty and vanity), and of David with her arrows (evoking lust) underlines the conceptual relationship between personification and exemplification. The familiar connection with the sin is spelled out by the rubric prefacing the psalm, which states, 'This Psalm David composed when he sinned by the sin of lust with Bathsheba the wife', a wording which signals that lechery was here compounded with adultery.[42] Further modest emphasis of a different sort is given to this same psalm by the presence of Dunois's arms worked into the borders immediately beside both the rubric and the incipit of the text.[43] Given that the artist would surely have hesitated to risk the patron's displeasure – even ire – by including an unmistakable personal reference at so delicate a place without authorization, it is a reasonable speculation that this represents Dunois's own acknowledgement of a known failing.

Be that as it may, a more eye-catching heraldic display appears at the start of the Penitential Psalms as a whole, where angels hold up two shields emblazoned with Dunois's arms, one below the incipit of the Psalm, the other beside the figure of David kneeling in penitence (ill. 3);[44] the same motif promptly reappears on the verso of the leaf, partway through the psalm

[42] Fol. 172r. 'Hunc psalmum fecit dauid' quando peccauit peccato luxurie cum bersabee uxore.' The four preceding psalms (31, 37, 50, 101) are likewise prefaced by rubrics that link their composition to a particular aspect of David's sins.

[43] Fols. 172r and 172v.

[44] Fol. 157r: Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', p. 54.

text.[45] The most significant personal reference, therefore, accompanies the image of royal repentance for, and divine forgiveness of, sin, allied to the comforting words: 'O Lord do not rebuke me in your indignation, nor chastise me in your anger; have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak ... Turn to me, O Lord, and deliver my soul; O save me for your mercy's sake ... The Lord has heard my supplication, the Lord has received my prayer. Let all my enemies be ashamed and exceedingly troubled; let them be turned back and be very speedily ashamed.'

Another notable feature of the manuscript is the miniature that introduces the Office of the Dead (ill. 5).[46] While an interment plus a struggle between St Michael and the Devil for possession of a dead man's soul are common material for such a context,[47] this rendering is an atypical one. Not only is the struggle for the soul the principal subject of the main miniature (as opposed to one element within a multi-part interment scene)[48] but, altogether rarer, scrolls

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[45] Psalm 6. Such shields were repeated from one side of a leaf to the other on six occasions (13r-v, 93r-v, 121r-v, 138r-v, 157r-v [one of two], 172r-v).

[46] Fol. 201v: Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', p. 59. Rubric on 201r, 'Sequuntur vespere mortuorum ad usum romanorum'.

[47] E.g. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, MS Mayer 120001, fol. 164r (R. P. Monks, 'An Unusual Epitome of a stylistic Labyrinth', *Scriptorium* 52 (1998), 3-11, pl. 1); London, BL, Add. MS 18751, fol. 163r (procession from church, interment, and struggle for soul in the main miniature, complemented in the lower border by death on horseback aiming a spear at a pope and an emperor); Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ludwig IX.6; 83.ML.102, fol. 132r (von Euw and Plotzek, *Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, p. 109).

[48] The procession from the church and the interment are presented separately in the lower border. The struggle for the soul is also the main subject in, e.g., the Dunois Master's related compositions in the Hachette Hours (fol. 178r; see n. 2) and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 4-

articulate a dialogue between the characters.[49] Thus the cadaver declares: 'The pains of death have surrounded me and the perils of Hell have found me. Mercy will enclose the man whose hope is in the Lord'. The demon who is lunging at the man's naked soul as it rises past him but who is being beaten back by St Michael, says, 'He was lascivious'; while the angels who are receiving the soul, one of them directing it upwards, state, 'Leave it [the soul]; the Lord shall judge the just and the unjust', and 'He repented and gave alms'.[50] The implications spelled out here are that, thanks to repentance and almsgiving, a sinner – and it is interesting that lust is again the sin that is highlighted – may escape the clutches of the Devil and hence Hell, to be judged by God at the Last Judgement (interim suffering in Purgatory permitting the possibility of redemption and eternal life).

1979 (the start of the Office of the Dead, surviving as a single leaf): F. Wormald and P. M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1982), II, p. 611, with pl. 47.

[49] The inscriptions reappear in a version of the scene that prefaces *Deus propitius esto* in Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 230 (Horae; Use of Rome, fol. 25v: L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery II: France 1420-1540*, 2 vols. (Baltimore and London, 1992), I, no. 121; II, fig. 218; noted by Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', p. 59) and also accompanying the slightly reduced version of the image that heads the Office of the Dead in the *s.* xv^{med} Parisian horae, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2004, fol. 192r (Hermann, *Westeuropaïschen Handschriften*, p. 210, pl. LX(6)).

[50] 'Circumdederunt me dolores mortis et pericula inferni inuenerunt me. Sperantem in domino misericordia circumdabit.' 'Lubricus fuit.' 'Sinite illam; iustum et impium iudicabit dominus.' 'Penituit et elemosinam dedit.' The cadaver's two sentences are quotations from Psalm 114.3 and 31.10 respectively.

A last distinctive aspect of the book to which attention should be drawn is the presence of the prayer *Deus propitius esto michi peccatori* immediately following *Obsecro te* and *O Intemerata*, the two Marian prayers that are near-universal in horae.[51] These two ubiquitous prayers begin by meditating on the Virgin, her life and significance (as also, secondarily, on John the Divine), progressing to wide-ranging requests for her aid to achieve virtuousness and spirituality in this life, to be forewarned of the day and hour of one's death, and to attain God's favour and eternal life thereafter. The rarer *Deus propitius esto*, by contrast, is both more direct and more desperate.[52] It starts by begging, 'God be merciful to me a sinner and be my guide all the days of my life'. Next, it asks that God send the Archangel Michael to guard, protect and defend the suppliant 'from all [his] enemies, visible and invisible, of the flesh, of the spirit, and of the world'. Then, Michael is addressed directly and implored to extract the suppliant 'today and always from every evil, past, present and future'. Thereafter, the help of all angels and archangels is sought, and they

[51] Fols. 32v-34r (*O intemerata* ends at the bottom of 32r). The juxtaposition also appears in the aforementioned Walters Art Museum, W 230; however, the image used there for *Deus propitius* was the struggle for the soul (see note 49). In the Coëtivy Hours, the prayer (141r-142v) appears after prayers to be said at Mass, before the so-called Verses of St Bernard and a long run of prayers to different parts of the Godhead. Its miniature shows the patron kneeling at a prie-dieu under a canopy, looking up to God in heaven above, and holding a scroll on which is inscribed the incipit of this prayer; beside him St Michael, flying down, impales with a cross shaft an inverted devil; a further depiction of Michael battling devils features in the lower border.

[52] Versions printed by V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927), I, p. 51, and *Horae Eboracensis. The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary according to the use of the illustrious Church of York*, ed. J. Wordsworth, Surtees Society 132 (Durham, 1920), p. 125. The synopsis and translations given in the text here are of and from the recension in the Dunois Hours itself.

are asked to safeguard the subject against injury by any enemy in all circumstances. Finally, the Holy Cross is likewise implored, 'Defend me from all evil'. A particularly wide-ranging plea both for salvation and for protection against enemies, this prayer will have had special relevance to a man who was regularly involved in military combat.

The illumination that introduces *Deus propitius esto* (ill. 6), distinguished by a lively interaction between what is inside and what outside the framed zone, presents the Last Judgement in a version of a formula derived from the Bedford atelier that was much used by the Dunois Master.[53] Within the framed area appear the apocalyptic Christ, the company of heaven (foremost among whom, flanking Christ, are the Virgin and John the Baptist), and the dead being raised by a trumpet-blowing angel, some of whom are being guided towards Paradise by another angel, while St Michael drives down others to a Hell-mouth filled with flames and demons at the bottom of the page – outside the frame. In the lower border, an angel in a graveyard reassembles a disarticulated skeleton or corpse to make it whole for the bodily resurrection; in the upper border to Christ's left, angels hold the implements of his passion; while in that to his right, an angel carries up a naked soul, other souls rising up beside it. Unique

[53] Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', pp. 40-1. Compare, e.g., Bedford Hours, fol. 157r (König, *Bedford Hours*, p. 110); Sobiesky Hours, fol. 109r (Windsor, Royal Library, s.n.: E. P. Spencer, *Sobieski Hours*, Roxburghe Club (London, 1977), pl. XLII, with colour pl. facing p. 30); Guillaume Jouvenel Hours, fol. 48r (Reynaud, 'Heures du chancelier Guillaume Jouvenel', ill. 4); also Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, Mayer 12001, fol. 246v (Monks, 'Unusual Epitome', pl. 1). In Coëtivy one version appears for Compline in the Hours of the Holy Spirit (74v: Reynaud, 'Heures de chancelier Guillaume Jouvenel', ill. 7) – which, lacking not only any human patron on the left but also St Michael driving condemned souls down to Hell on the right, is a depiction of the Saved in general – and another for the Last Judgement in the Articles of Faith (356v), again without any depiction of the patron.

to this rendering of the formula is the prominent inclusion in the side border, to Christ's right, of the patron, Jean de Dunois.[54] Clad in armour under a surcoat emblazoned with his arms, he kneels at a draped prie-dieu on which is an open book (presumptively the present book of hours); his hands are clasped in prayer, his gaze raised to Christ, who looks directly back at him, and to whom he is being presented by his name-saint, John the Divine. That the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, the figures who (as in all Bedford and Dunois atelier versions of the scene) flank Christ, would here be understood to be interceding specifically for Jean de Dunois in heaven is rendered highly likely by the facts that the former was shown receiving his prayers in person a mere ten folios earlier (in the miniature accompanying *Obsecro te*), while the latter is his other name-saint. Whether or not the soul being carried heavenwards above Dunois's head is supposed to be his own, this is a potent image of ultimate salvation[55] – one which not only

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[54] Other artists occasionally used the conceit in relation to differently-designed Last Judgements: e.g. the Master of the Munich Golden Legend – a contemporary of the Dunois Master who had likewise worked with the Bedford atelier and who subsequently sometimes collaborated with the Dunois Master (among others) – placed a female patron in the left-hand border (to Christ's right) beside his much simpler Last Judgement in BL, Add. MS 18912, fol. 89v (see further note 55), and King David (his scroll imploring, 'Misere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam') in the right-hand border (to Christ's left) of that in Paris, BnF, Rothschild 2535, fol. 77r: L. Ungeheier, 'Le Manuscrit Rothschild 2535 à la BnF', *Art de l'enluminure* 56 (2016); this folio reproduced on p. 39.

[55] A point underlined by the less positive tone of some other broadly contemporary interpretations of the scene, such as that accompanying the start of the Penitential Psalms in BL, Add. MS 18192 (Horae; Use of Paris), decorated by the Master of the Munich Golden Legend (see note 54). Here the space immediately below the Apocalyptic Christ and the company of heaven in the main miniature is dominated not by the saved but by the damned being driven

requests but apparently promises far more than the aforementioned depiction of Jean kneeling in prayer before the Virgin and Child. Exceptionally powerful though it is in its own right, this optimistic Last Judgement derives additional force from its presence within a book that is equipped with the other elements we have just considered.

The fact that the features we have highlighted – as also the many other aspects of the Dunois Hours that have not been singled out for comment here – can be paralleled in whole or part elsewhere should not blind us to the fact that they have distinctive resonances in the context of this particular book and in connection to its original owner.[56] And interesting as they are in their own right, all these features must be understood in relation to the nature and fundamental purpose of a book of hours. If such a volume might signal family and political loyalties and could project social status – as was demonstrably the case for Dunois's copy – a book of hours remained in essence a tool to help secular society negotiate its way through the perils of life to a

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towards, and cast into a Hell-mouth; the saved are limited to one single naked soul, being pulled up (apparently from Hell) by an angel and offered a crown. Kneeling in the left-hand margin beside the miniature is the patron, the same well-dressed woman who was shown using her horae and a rosary in the margins beside the Adoration of the Magi and the Circumcision (for Terce and Sext, fols. 59r, 65r) and who reappears in church receiving the host from a priest as the subject of the miniature heading the prayer, *Je te salue tres saint et tres precieux corps de mon createur iesu crist* (fol. 196r); at the Last Judgement she begs (via a scroll) for God's mercy. The Last Judgement in the Hachette Hours (fol. 261v; see note 2) features the damned alone – without a single saved soul.

[56] Just as the depictions of the massacre of the innocents (104v, bas-de-page) and the betrayal of Christ (fol. 120r) are likely to have particular poignancy for a lieutenant-general who had temporarily schemed against his monarch in 1440.

favourable afterlife. It permitted a layman or woman to establish and maintain a personal relationship with heaven via the Virgin Mary and selected saints, to minimise the burden of sin that was inevitably accumulated during life, to achieve a 'good death'[57] at the end of it (hopefully with due warning thereof), thereby avoiding the immediate danger of Hell, to reduce the time of painful but necessary cleansing in Purgatory, and hence to be fit to be numbered among the blessed at the Last Judgement. Any and every copy was, in principle, designed to facilitate this process, more or less customised to the particular circumstances of the owner according to their perceived needs and the size of their purse.

It is easy to appreciate, then, how several of the features of the Dunois Hours that we have contemplated added to the efficacy of this particular copy for its owner in these crucial respects. The sequence of images associated with the Penitential Psalms alerted Jean to the diversity of forms that cardinal sin could take, notably Lust (ill. 4), and to what it could lead – not least killing (as the rubric for Anger signals).[58] Simultaneously, the first miniature of the cycle reminded him that recognising, confessing and atoning for his sins could, in principle, permit their direst consequences to be mitigated (ill. 3).[59] The bas-de-page illustration at Matins for the Office of the Dead showed the ideal good death – receiving the last rites on one's death-bed,

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[57] Illustrated in summary form in the lower border of fol. 211r of the Dunois Hours and more fully on fol. 11v of the Sobieski Hours (Spencer, *Sobieski Hours*, pl. XLIII).

[58] Fol. 165r for Psalm 51. 'Hunc psalmum fecit Dauid quando peccauit peccato yre et fecit occidi uriam.'

[59] Rylands, Latin 164 prefaces 'Miseratur uestri omnipotens Deus et dimittat uobis omnia peccata uestra ...' and 'Confiteor deo omnipotenti, et beate marie uirgini et omnibus sanctis eius, et uobis pater quia ego miser peccator peccaui nimis contra legem dei mei ...' with a miniature of a laywoman being shriven (fol. 19v).

with family in attendance – while the miniature heading the Office of the Dead underlined the message that a sinner who trusted in the Lord, was truly repentant, and gave alms might escape the clutches of the Devil at the moment of death and so be given the opportunity of purification in Purgatory (ill. 5). The illumination for *Deus propitius esto* then proclaimed that such a man would, at the Last Judgement, be raised whole, escaping the horrors of damnation to enjoy the bliss of eternal life (ill. 6).[60] The presence here of Jean de Dunois not only praying for this inestimable blessing but seemingly receiving it, renders this extremely positive view of the culmination of life and afterlife a highly personal one for him himself.[61]

The unusually detailed presentation both of the sins that beset a man's life and of the path to salvation in the face of them that distinguishes the Dunois Hours should be seen in relation to the fact that the hurdles that its owner had to surmount to achieve redemption will have seemed particularly high – as moralising tracts like those that he certainly possessed by the end of his life will have underlined.[62] Quite aside from any personal failings in terms of greed and of lasciviousness (something to which his own illegitimate son, Louis, bore testimony), his role as a military leader during a period of protracted warfare meant that he was inevitably responsible directly and indirectly for countless deaths. There were, of course, definitions of 'just war' from

[60] By no means all depictions of the Last Judgement took the spiritual story thus to fulfilment: plentiful examples show souls being raised from their graves at the Last Judgement but not the possible outcomes thereof (one such from many: BL, Harley 2971 (Horae, Use of Paris), fol. 163r – for 'Doulx dieu doulx pere sancte trinite et ung uray dieu ...').

[61] Comparably audacious is the image of Jean de Berry being received by St Peter at the Gates of Heaven in his Grandes Heures (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 919, fol. 96r: *Les Grandes Heures de Jean duc de Berry*, ed. M. Thomas (London, 1971), pl. 93).

[62] See note 24.

Gratian onwards[63] – stipulating that it had to be from necessity, for defence of one's land or property, without unnecessary violence, without clerical involvement, and authorised by a prince – and Dunois's campaigns might naturally have been seen as qualifying under most if not all of these headings. Equally, there were standards of conduct that a good Christian soldier would endeavour to uphold,[64] and Dunois was lauded as a model of probity in this regard.[65] Yet grey areas remained, not least because the Papacy steadfastly refused to recognise the right of either side in the Hundred Years War, while casualties and collateral damage abounded.[66] Moreover, the more conscientious the knight, the more troubling the implications are likely to have been: a model commander would not just mourn the fallen but would surely also fret vicariously over the fate of their souls and his responsibility for them. Whatever the terrestrial justifications for

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[63] See, in general, F. H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975). More specific to the Hundred Years War, Geoffroi de Charny (who died in battle at Poitiers in 1356) outlined when one could engage in combat 'securement pour les corps et pour les ames' in his *Le Livre de Chevalerie* (*The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny, text, context and translation*, ed. R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), §35, ll. 145 ff.).

[64] See most recently M. Strickland, 'Chivalry, Piety and Conduct', *Battle of Agincourt*, ed. Curry and Mercer, 36-49; and, more generally, C. Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013).

[65] E.g. the partisan Robert Blondel stressed the strict standards of military discipline that supposedly obtained under him: *De reductione Normanniae*, ch. 50, in *Narratives of the Expulsion*, ed. Stevenson, p. 49.

[66] Consider Thomas Basin's bleak description, written in 1471-2, of the northern French lands devastated by the very struggles in which Dunois was involved: *Histoire*, Bk II, ch. 1, ed. Samaran, I, pp. 82-88, esp. 84-6.

such deaths, in terms of a celestial 'balance sheet' this could represent a tremendous burden of sin, potentially deadly to the immortal soul (the case of David and Uriah, as highlighted in the Penitential Psalms within the Dunois Hours itself, underlined the culpability of indirect murder through sending someone into battle; while Pontius Pilate, depicted in the Dunois Hours at the crucial moment of washing his hands, underlined the fact that delegating – even refusing to make – a difficult decision did not permit one to avoid blame for a tragic outcome).[67] The consequences of sin were all the more severe if one died unprepared and unshriven – a particular danger for a soldier (and the fact that contemporary sources show good soldiers undergoing confession shortly before an anticipated battle indicates how keenly the threat was felt).[68]

In such circumstances a new book of hours that highlighted the pervasive threat of sin and presented the means of counteracting it through penitence and piety, far from being an unnecessary luxury,[69] was surely highly desirable. The Parisian horae that Jean had been given in 1417 by Louis d'Orléans is lost or unidentified so its nature is unknowable,[70] but that it would have matched the nature and needs of the mature Dunois as closely as does the present

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[67] Rubric on 165r: 'hunc psalmum fecit david quando peccavit peccato yre et fecit occidi uriam'. Pilate: fol. 150r.

[68] Thus, e.g., the English before Azincourt: *Gesta Henrici Quinti. The Deeds of Henry the Fifth*, ed. F. Taylor and J. S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), p. 78: 'Et tunc unusquisque qui non prius conscienciam suam confessione mundaverat, arma penitencie sumpsit et non erat tunc parcitas nisi solum parcitas sacerdotum'.

[69] As Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', pp. 15-16, believed, leading him to suggest that this volume, too, was commissioned for Dunois by Charles d'Orléans.

[70] See Châtelet, 'Heures de Dunois', p. 15.

manuscript seems highly unlikely. Indeed, perhaps the single most important point to grasp about the Dunois Hours is its appropriateness for a high-ranking military man. Whether or not Jean actually used it on a daily basis – and the discolouring and weathering of the margins demonstrates that the manuscript has seen extensive if respectful handling[71] – the very fact of possessing it will have been extremely reassuring (not unlike a modern insurance policy).

To sum up: thanks to the meticulous scholarship that has steadily pieced together the output, career, visual repertoire and sources of the Dunois Master and his collaborators, we have a better understanding of the atelier's working practices and a clearer view of the place of the Dunois Hours within its oeuvre. Considering some of the more unusual details of this particular book in relation both to its original owner and to the functions of horae in general then permits us to appreciate characteristics that made it especially suitable and spiritually efficacious for Jean de Dunois himself. The precise processes that gave the book its particular profile are irrecoverable, for it is impossible to know how far Jean himself may have been responsible for the sort of details we have considered (the extraordinary quantity of heraldry and rebus motifs in another high-grade book of hours decorated by the Dunois Master indicates that the atelier would do all that was required to accommodate what must surely have been *that* patron's specific wishes).[72] Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that, subject to the nature of horae as a genre, to the expectations contingent upon Jean de Dunois's rank, and to the repertoire of the Dunois Artist and his co-workers, this book of hours was tailored to suit the spiritual needs of a

[71] Cropping for the current *s.* xvii binding has clearly reduced the stained areas. The handling that lies behind the weathering in question is, of course, impossible to date; nevertheless, it is worth noting that it is most pronounced at the start of the Penitential Psalms (157r), the suffrage for St George (274v) and, above all, at 'Deus propitius esto michi peccatori' (32v).

[72] Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 3226: Reynaud, 'Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins', pp. 26-7.

high-ranking warrior who, in a world of sin at a time of near-continuous conflict, will have wanted to exploit the form for all it was worth in order to maximise his chances of salvation.

There is a broader point here that is worth spelling out in conclusion. Prayer-books that are also *objets d'art* are not naturally associated in the modern mind with warfare. Accordingly, while Books of Hours have been explored for insights into social, religious and cultural history, not to mention women's history, their relevance to soldiers is less frequently emphasised. Yet this is a misapprehension, for it was in relation to those most liable to die suddenly in a state of sin – above all the fighting class – that they were most valuable.[73] Moreover, the famous 'miracle' of the breviary of Louis IX – whereby a service book that that saintly king had taken with him on crusade was returned to him, supposedly by divine intervention, so that he could continue his devotions in captivity – provided a model for such practices that was of the highest standing both politically and spiritually.[74] The Dunois Hours, along with the Hours of Admiral Coëtivy and the slightly earlier and better-known Hours of Marshall Boucicaut, are the tip of an iceberg of horae for military men whose significance as such has yet to be fully recognised. They were

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[73] One of the two volumes that my Father-in-Law, Alan Young (d. 1995), carried with him throughout the Second World War (in which he served as a colonel in the King's Indian Rifles) was a pocket edition of the Book of Common Prayer. Soberingly, the book in question (now in my wife's possession) automatically falls open at the service for the Burial of the Dead.

[74] On the elaboration of this event from the simple statement by William of Chartres that the Saracens gave the captive King a breviary and a missal from his own chapel see L. A. Crist, 'The Breviary of Saint Louis: the development of a legendary miracle', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), 319-23. The 'miracle' features as an illustration to the Hours of St Louis within the Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux: New York, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2, fol. 154v.

the individual complement and counterpart to the collective celebration of mass that was the ideal before combat, and were all the more efficacious for being usable without the mediation of a cleric, personal to the owner and, if portable (like that of Jean de Dunois), always potentially to hand. Moreover, horae had the further recommendation that, should their owners perish in battle, these books might still, if transferred to the right person, benefit the souls of the deceased by encouraging relatives to pray for them, reducing their time in Purgatory (the images of Jean de Dunois in his copy gave him the reassurance that he would forever be doing this on his own behalf in effigy).[75] One is tempted to wonder, therefore, whether the internecine strife and warfare that raged in north-west Europe during much of the first half of the fifteenth century, with Armagnacs pitted against Burgundians and England at war with France, far from restraining the production of books of hours, may not rather have contributed to the continuing demand for them then. The more uncertain earthly life seemed, the more valuable horae became.[76]

[75] In this connection it is worth drawing attention to a Parisian Book of Hours from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, illuminated by Master François, wherein the highly unusual miniature heading the Office of the Dead depicts a pitched battle between two armies of foot soldiers, dead bodies littering the ground (private collection, fol. 136v: *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London, Tuesday 5th December 1989), lot. 110; Dr Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Catalogue 8: Fifty Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Hamburg, 2006), cat. 26, this folio reproduced on p. 89).

[76] I am very grateful to Kathleen Doyle for kindly arranging access to the Dunois Hours itself. I thank John Lowden for three decades of friendship and inspiration.

Captions

1.London, BL, Yates Thompson 3 (Dunois Hours), fol. 1r: Calendar, January.

2. BL, Yates Thompson 3, fol. 22v: *Obsecro te*.

3. BL, Yates Thompson 3, fol. 157r: Psalm 6 (first Penitential Psalm).

4. BL, Yates Thompson 3, fol. 172v: Psalm 129 (sixth Penitential Psalm).

5. BL, Yates Thompson 3, fol. 201v: Office of the Dead.

6. BL, Yates Thompson 3, fol. 32v: *Deus propitius esto michi peccatori*.

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